

DO NOT CLIP
THIS NUMBER

The American TEACHER

MAY-JUNE, 1918

SCHOOLS AT WAR

LOYALTY AND UNIONISM

**UNIONISM AMONG
TEACHERS**

**SIDETALKS WITH SUPER-
INTENDENTS**

THE NEW EDUCATION



**Democracy in Education
Education for Democracy**

Program of the World's Peace

President Woodrow Wilson

THERE is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable, for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals, or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what if in anything our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs, and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether

their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace when they are begun shall be absolutely open, and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind.

The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments, and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Editorials	99
Unionism Among Teachers. Hon. Jeannette Rankin	107
The Schools at War. Dr Franklin J Keller	109
The Education Situation in England. Alice Henry	113
Obedience to the Colorado Fuel and Iron, N W	114
Sidetalks with Superintendents. John Smith	116
Constructive Warfare. F J K	118
The Russian Schools and the Revolution. A Russian	121
The American's Creed	132

still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

—From President Wilson's Address to Congress, January 8, 1918.

The American Teacher

Vol. VII., Nos. 5, 6

MAY-JUNE, 1918

One Dollar a Year

Loyalty and Unionism

THIS "double" number of THE AMERICAN TEACHER is brought out partly to meet the necessity of catching up after a particularly strenuous year of labor of fighting thru organization for the preservation of self-respect in our profession. Of this our readers have been given much. In fact, it is the earnest hope of the editorial staff that those who subscribe will not look too closely at the number of pages of printing matter they are receiving for their money, but will consider the more important point of the amount of effort that the staff has given to make the union movement among teachers a living inspiration.

But while we are saving in printer's ink and paper, we have resolved also to celebrate. This year has been an active one for the American Federation of Teachers. Organized in April, 1916, with six locals, the national has grown to have twenty-five locals, most of them entering during the present school year. Teachers all over the country are inquiring about the union movement in their own profession, and many locals will doubtless be formed in the coming year. The prejudice against affiliating with the labor unions is on weakening legs. Hence, we celebrate the growth of Unionism!

A still more significant development of the year, since the entrance of America in the Great War, has been the steady development of the idealism of Democracy under the leadership of our great statesman, President Woodrow Wilson. It is not the performance of the immense physical tasks which the declaration of war made necessary that constitutes the wonder of our American drama. It is rather the working toward the national purpose of bringing order and justice into the world thru the actual operation of the method of democracy, especially difficult as it is during wartime, that is the real wonder of

our time. In spite of the urgent demands for coercion made by those who from little knowledge have little faith in the strength of real democracy, in spite of the presence in our midst of many whose ancestry and early training make somewhat natural a stronger sympathy for an enemy government than for ours, President Wilson has followed the open, straightforward path of democratic statesmanship, and by so doing has been the means of bringing to the support of the national government practically every supposedly discordant element in our citizenry. Nothing like it has ever taken place in the world before. Not only is it fitting that every American should take pride in the fact that the methods of democracy should have been proved to be so all-conquering in bringing about the willing loyalty of the nation, but it is especially a cause for professional pride that the leader of so important a world movement is a teacher.

Patriotic Training

THE Board of Education of New York City has recently appointed a committee to supervise the preparation of a bulletin which is to furnish our boys and girls the reasons why America entered the war. No more important educational task could have been undertaken and we are glad that the Board of Education has awakened at last to the need of developing an enlightened patriotism.

Such a course must impress upon the child's mind that America, having no imperialistic ambition, was reluctantly forced into this war by a nation that is dominated by the LAW OF THE JUNGLE. The children must be made to realize that America has enlisted in a crusade against a militaristic autocracy, that has for its aim the creation of a world hegemony dominated by the German

military caste and maintained by Brute Force. They must be made aware of the fact that our war is not negative—mere opposition to *such* a world state, but positive, the creation of a world state based on voluntary cooperation of all civilized states and founded on the principle of justice, that is, equal regard for the rights of all nations, large or small.

The course must further impress upon the pupils the imperative need of unselfish loyalty to our country and its allies, because we are fighting for the highest ideals of civilization and that, therefore, it is their duty to make every possible sacrifice in order that our cause—the cause of suffering humanity (including the German people) may triumph. Our cause is so just and our triumph so certain, that we must not sully it by preaching hate, intolerance and self-glorification! Here's success to the task. The Board of Education may rest assured that the teachers of New York City, always intensely patriotic and thoroly loyal, will do their utmost to make this training effective and enduring.

the unavoidable errors made by the other. Secondly, there is the desire of Big Business to use its power to exploit the remaining resources of the nation and to continue piling up untold millions. Thirdly, the President has used his power to enunciate a sound, fair and liberal labor policy which has justified itself by making labor stand wholeheartedly behind him, thereby strengthening the American morale. An eight-hour day, wages that keep pace with the increased cost of living, improved sanitary conditions, and representation of labor on all boards—these things are gall and wormwood to the representatives of Big Business. Hence the attacks upon the President's subordinates while, at the same time, they stoutly proclaim their shibboleth "Stand behind the President."

Shall the teachers allow these selfish individuals to undermine the power of the President and to endanger the allied cause solely because the President dared to be fair to labor? It is our duty to make plain to our pupils, who in turn can enlighten their parents, that patriotism consists in wholehearted support of the President in deeds as well as in words. Criticism of policy is as necessary as it is just, but criticism for the sake of making political capital is not only reprehensible in time of peace but at this time it is criminal.

Stand Behind the President

INTO the maw of the world war civilization is fast disappearing. In this crisis the fundamental need of the allies is unity of action. This idea is popularly expressed in the phrase "STAND BEHIND THE PRESIDENT." The press reiterates this cry and then calmly proceeds to attack vehemently the President's subordinates because they dare not attack the President himself. First Hoover is attacked, then Garfield, then Baker, and now Creel. The task of conserving the food to feed millions at a time when millions are taken from productive employment, the task of building hundreds of vessels in an incredibly short period, the task of building thousands of airplanes and of equipping armies the like of which the world has never seen, is so great that it fairly staggers the imagination! And altho these things are being done with efficiency and speed, yet the attacks go on. Why?

The attacks upon the subordinates of the President are due fundamentally to three causes: First, there is the desire of the one great party to make political capital out of

The Worker and the Teacher

THE War Labor Policy Board appointed by Secretary of Labor Wilson to prepare a plan for settling labor disputes during the war has rendered a report which seems to be satisfactory both to labor and to capital. The report suggests the creation of a National War Labor Board of 12 members, five to be chosen by the workers, five by the employers, and two by the public at large—each group choosing one. If the proposed board fails to settle a difference between workers and employers, then the matter is to be settled by an umpire to be selected by the parties engaged in the dispute, and if they do not agree upon an umpire, the President is empowered to select him. While strikes are not forbidden by the report, it is hoped that they will be largely if not entirely eliminated by the proposed method.

Sometime ago Mr. Edward Mandel, acting for Associate-superintendent Straubemuller, announced that a committee consisting of representatives from the Teachers Union and other associations selected by him, were working on the creation of a Teachers' Conciliation Board which was to function somewhat like the National War Labor Board. Eagerly and patiently the teachers of New York have waited for the promulgation of the plans which would make possible the inauguration of this experiment. If carried out, this endeavor would usher in a new era in which cooperation between teachers and their official superiors would be the keynote. But thus far no definite action has been taken.

Probably the most momentous provision in the document submitted by the Labor Policy Board is the following: "In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort." At last labor is coming to its own! No longer shall the rights of property take precedence over the rights of humanity! Workers will no longer work for starvation wages in order that their employers may live extravagantly, but will be guaranteed a sum which will enable them to maintain their families decently. The report means that workers who are underpaid need but to organize and present their claims to the National War Labor Board and justice will be done.

Labor, because of its unity and organization, has been able to get recognition and fair treatment. Teachers, because they have been divided and because they regard themselves superior to the workers, have been unable to get the consideration to which their training, ability and position entitle them. They have justly requested a salary increase and are told that only those teachers who are existing on a mere pittance that any skilled laborer would scorn, may get an increase. And this in the face of general wage increases in every industry! This in the face of the fact that in some industries five or more increases have been granted since the outbreak of the World War!

The war has revolutionized the opinions

of the workers everywhere. The war has made the workers realize their class consciousness and their power. If this great conflict cannot make you realize your place in the coming scheme of regeneration which must follow the inevitable triumph of the allied cause, then you may not be worthy of the name "TEACHER." TEACHERS OF AMERICA, Awake, Unite!

The Special Service the Teacher Can Render in War Time

THE ideal of service is being held before the nation as never before. Old and young are called upon to serve within the limit of their capacity, not merely to "do their bit." And as never before the nation is united for the accomplishment of the great task before us.

What part can the teacher play in this great crisis that differentiates him from the average citizen? Is society to expect of him more than it expects of others? It expects of him loyalty to the nation's ideals and aims; it expects him to render military or other service depending upon his ability; it expects him to make whatever sacrifice lies within his power. But it expects this of all citizens. Surely there is something more the teachers can do.

The teacher in his class room can first of all teach the ideals of service, sacrifice and loyalty; he can point out the many ways in which the children can avail themselves of opportunities to serve the nation. He can also point out that there is always a need for service and sacrifice; that there are always evils around us that need to be remedied, that we need not wait for a great war in order to help and serve. He who does not realize the need of serving loyally and with self-sacrifice during the present crisis, will readily be condemned by the children. It is the teacher's duty to point out that the man who stood idly by while others were fighting

to uproot tuberculosis, or banish the plague of child labor from our midst, or worse, was opposing these efforts, was disloyal—an enemy to our national well being equally deserving of condemnation.

It is the teacher's duty to point out that malnutrition, low wages and squalid housing conditions are dangerous to the country; that every child who dies from preventable causes is as much a loss to the country as the death of a soldier; that an injury to any part of our country is an injury to all parts; that an injury to any one in the country is an injury to all. Each one of us, children and grown ups, if we but look around us will always find many opportunities to fight against the enemies of the nation in peace times as well as war times. The enemy within our gates is always with us. The poor and the unfortunate, the needy and the helpless, are always around us. They stand in need of our help. We must search them out; not wait until they have been thrust upon us. As loyal Americans we can do no less. We have all been neglectful in the past; we have failed in our manifest duty; we were too greatly engrossed with our own little problems, joys and sorrows. We did not see beyond our own little group. It took a great war to dramatize human misery for us. But the future will no longer be as the past. It must not be.

Forward the New Education

IN April of the present year the American Defense Society published and circulated in certain schools in the City of New York, and among the public, a pamphlet entitled, "Unpatriotic Teaching in Public Schools." The subject matter of the pamphlet was prepared by a committee of the Schoolmasters Association of New York and Vicinity. The avowed purpose of the pamphlet was to bring about the permanent exclusion from the New York educational system of three teachers who were dismissed by act of the Board of Education in December, 1917, for alleged "conduct unbecoming a teacher." The cases of the three teachers are now being

considered on appeal by the State Department of Education. The American Defense Society and the schoolmasters' organization seek by the title of their pamphlet to create the impression that the three men had been guilty of unpatriotic teaching, and throughout apparently endeavor to establish conviction in the minds of readers that they are disloyal to the government, while pointedly denying, however, that the teachers have been charged with actual disloyalty. Indeed, the committee says it does not believe the teachers are guilty of disloyalty.

One may look in vain for evidence supporting their charge of unpatriotic teaching. In fact, it does not appear that the committee tried seriously to present what would be accepted anywhere as evidence. The committee was interested apparently merely in creating a state of mind that would favor the carrying out of the real purpose of the campaign. That purpose is the discrediting and the dismissal from the service of those teachers who have led for years in the democratic movement in education in the City of New York.

The offending leaders are now on the editorial staff of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* or among the officers of the Teachers Union. The schoolmasters accuse our fellows of being against the prosecution of the war, of being members of what they apparently regard as a criminal fraternity, the Socialist Party, of opposing any act of the educational administration that does not coincide with our "individualistic" notions of what is right, and of lacking in respect for our superior officers.

The Executive Board of the Teachers Union has appointed a committee to take up the matter of defense against these charges, and has urged that the work of the committee should not stop at mere defense. The American Defense Society has been invited to hold with us a joint meeting to consider "The Fundamentals of Loyalty in Wartime" and to afford the Teachers Union the opportunity to meet the implication of disloyalty in public. But the American Defense Society replies that it regards the matter of loyalty as "undebatable," and "rejects the proposition in every respect." This attitude of the Ameri-

can Defense Society may be illuminating to those who have been granting support to the organization. However, the Teachers Union will hold its own meeting on Friday evening, June 7, at which the challenge that the A D S failed to meet will be brought by us before the public.

In addition, the committee of the Union is preparing a pamphlet to be called "Forward the New Education," and therein is signified our purpose to attack without mercy the dishonest attempt of a reactionary educational group to defeat our movement by innuendo and false accusation. But we shall do more than that. We have been preparing for years, and now the educational enemy has given us the occasion, to demonstrate to the public that the existing idealism in the public school system is characterized by ignorance of the social purpose of the school as an institution, by intellectual narrowness and bigotry; by connivance at the use of unscrupulous methods in educational administration, and by the apparent assumption that the schools are instruments to further the economic interests of the ambitious.

Those who set themselves up as leaders accepting tacitly the validity of this selfish idealism find ready at hand the willing spirit of submission of thousands of teachers, who "never ask the reason why" for anything. It is time the public were being shown that this state of affairs constitutes a menace of the greatest social importance. That is what the Teachers Union proposes to do. Our pamphlet will be issued in the first week in June.

New Locals of the American Federation of Teachers

THERE are now twenty-five locals of the American Federation of Teachers.

One of the most recent to be organized is the Vocational Teachers of New York City. It might not have been possible for this local to have received a charter if the Teachers Union of the City of New York had not granted the new organization the

necessary jurisdiction over the vocational (trade) teachers that do not already belong to the Teachers Union.

The Teachers Union was convinced by the spirit and the intelligence of the representatives of the vocational teachers that the new group would make a welcome addition to the union movement in the metropolitan city, and after thoro discussion of the matter at meetings of the Executive Board of the Union it was decided to withdraw some natural objections to giving up a portion of the field, and to extend the right hand of greeting to a new teachers union in the City of New York. There is only one group of persons that needs be worried about the situation, and that is the fellowship of educators and others that does not believe it is "professional" for teachers to belong to a union. All others may be glad there is more organized teacher intelligence than ever before.

Another local recently formed is the Norfolk Teachers Association, which receives in membership teachers from Norfolk County. The companion local of this is also now organized, a local of the colored teachers of Norfolk City and County. National Organizer L. V. Lampson, thru whose activity the two locals have been organized, writes that he was particularly impressed by the fact that the colored teachers at their organization meeting passed a motion appropriating \$7 for subscriptions to *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*, altho they are receiving only about \$35 a month salary. Their meeting was opened with the singing of America and with prayer.

THE AMERICAN TEACHER urges upon all locals and upon individual teachers in the union movement that they write to the new local of colored teachers, extending to the members the right hand of fellowship. If we are true unionists we will forget our own troubles for the time, and resolve to work a little harder than ever before in order to help our fellow teachers in Virginia. The solution of our national problems of education will come only as we help to solve them for the Negro. The Secretary of the local is Mrs Lilla A Reed, Booker T Washington High School, Norfolk, Va.

The Norfolk local of white teachers has also taken steps to have their schools receive subscriptions to **THE AMERICAN TEACHER**. Both locals are beginning right in putting themselves in touch with the union movement, for it is the proper business of the periodical to interpret correctly the union movement, and to be the means of organizing the thoughts and the experience of teachers everywhere.

The teachers of the Panama Canal Zone are applicants for a charter in the American Federation of Teachers, and so are the professors in the Annapolis Naval Academy. Our Constitution at present does not permit any but public school teachers to be members. Anyhow, democracy is growing some.

be sure of having editors who will at all times represent the spirit and the point of view of the organization. With the editorial responsibility goes, of course, whatever financial risk there may seem to be with the members all, or practically all, supporting the undertaking.

It is hoped that all the locals of the American Federation of Teachers will send delegates to the national convention at Pittsburg favorably instructed to the consideration of a workable plan looking toward the greater usefulness of the paper.

The American Teacher and Open Diplomacy

THE founders and present managers of **THE AMERICAN TEACHER** believe that the time has arrived when the American Federation of Teachers should take over the responsible control of the periodical. Altho a proposition to this end has been made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers, the managers of the paper believe in the principle of open diplomacy, and want the locals of the organization to know about it.

The union movement among teachers has now grown to such proportions that the organ should be connected more definitely with the national and with its locals. Instead of following an irregular system by which every member in some local receives the paper, and none at all in others, every member should be a supporter of the organ in order that he may become acquainted with the movement to which he has given his professional allegiance. Furthermore, every social movement is estimated by leaders of thought and affairs on the score of the measure of strength and intelligence shown by its responsible organ.

Not only should every member receive the paper, but the American Federation should elect the editorial staff in order that it may

Unity

THE failure of the London Teachers to secure a war bonus of one pound weekly to a group of its teachers was explained by its Executive Committee in these words: "Let us face unflinchingly the facts. We have been beaten because at the supreme test we failed to preserve our unity. Until that unity is secured, *we are at the mercy of our differences and we are an easy prey to the enemy.*" That explains our situation exactly. We too, teachers, are at the mercy of our enemies because of our differences, because of *Our lack of Unity*. Lack of unity lost the London teachers their war bonus and prevented us from receiving adequate salary increases and a sound and just pension system.

How can the teachers secure proper consideration if they, because of their various group views, are continually quarreling among themselves? The 1A-6B group opposes the salary demands of the 7A-8B group, the elementary school teachers oppose the high school teachers, etc. Fifty-seven varieties each working to advance the interests of its own narrow group, instead of *one all embracing and all powerful union fighting for the rights of all*. Why should you be the only class that is behind the tendencies of the times? Why can you not learn that 22,000 united teachers, animated by labor's idealism, backed by the power of organized labor

and an enlightened public opinion, would not have to plead pitifully for salary increases that the labor union justly scorns!

Teachers, Unite! Teachers of America's workers, when will *You* learn the lesson that the industrial world has so successfully taught *your former pupils*?

The National Union of Teachers and the British Labor Party

FOR many years the National Union of Teachers of England has been debating the question of affiliating with the Labor Party. The Union has long realized that it could rely on the Labor Party to protect and develop the interests of the schools and the teachers, while the interests of the other parties sometimes seemed to be at odds with the interests of the public schools. The fact that the Labor Party is a political organization, while the National Union of Teachers is non-political, created a practical difficulty of considerable moment.

However, a referendum has been held on the question, "Are you in favor of the alliance of the National Union of Teachers with the Labor Party?" The results were announced at the Easter conference of the Union as follows: For alliance, 15,434; against alliance, 29,743. The membership of the Union is 97,000.

Dissatisfaction as a Risk

IN the item of "English Notes," reprinted in this number from *The Christian Science Monitor*, a point is made incidentally that the great dissatisfaction of the Irish teachers with the apparent indifference of Parliament to their appeals for salary increases is itself a menace of serious importance. In political crises dissatisfaction when

it becomes extensive is always a menace to the continuance of any system of government. But it is not often that teachers have created situations which their governments have felt impelled to regard as menacing.

If the Irish teachers are driven to the point of distraction, the news indicates that they may go out on strike. In that event perhaps conservative forces will condemn them as cowardly and "unpatriotic." Their only protection from that accusation may be the fact that so much of Ireland is now in a state of political upheaval as to demand of the allied peoples more constructive treatment than the calling of names. There may then come the realization that the dissatisfaction of the Irish teachers, whether they strike or not, constitutes a menace to the efficient service of school as an institution.

The Liberator

THE exchange advertisement of *The Liberator* appears in this number of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*. *The Liberator* is the literary descendant of *The Masses*. The recent trial of the editors of *The Masses*, which is referred to in the advertisement, was one of the most dramatic cases that the war has brought about. But the jury failed to agree, and a new trial will be necessary. Whatever may be one's opinion of the guilt of the accused editors of obstructing the war program of the national government while they were editors of *The Masses*, it is a significant mark of our national unity that the editors of *The Liberator* now support the government.

Those who believe that democracy progresses by fear, and that the editors of the literary descendant were afraid to do otherwise than support the war policy of the nation, miss their opportunity to learn how democracy works. They should go to school a little longer, and learn that the conviction of the mind thru the logic of political events is far more lasting and real than is patriotism brought about thru fear.

To Our New Superintendent

GREETINGS! Cordial Greetings and Heartiest Congratulations!

As Superintendent of Schools of New York City, you will have the privilege of moulding the destinies of 800,000 children and of the careers of 22,000 teachers. The honor conferred upon you is great, but the responsibility is greater.

We feel sure that you recognize the responsibility. Our best wishes for success in your endeavors are with you.

You are a thoro American. We hope that you will help to eradicate all remnants of Prussian autocracy which still survive in our system. Only then will teacher, principal and superintendent work in complete harmony for the good of the children.

You are a firm believer in the war for democracy that we are now waging. Let us hope that you will help the war for democracy that is now also being waged in the school system,—a war that aims to make the teacher self-respecting, that aims to make use of his initiative, that aims to make him a man among men rather than a mere cog in a soulless educational factory.

You are a man of culture. Let us hope you will not permit teachers to be brow-beaten by incompetent, surly educational officers who demand that implicit respect be paid to them because of the office they occupy.

You are a practical educator. We hope that no more vagaries will be forced upon the schools without consulting teachers, principals and parents. From now on let teachers help in revising the course of study and the methods of teaching so that all of us will be better satisfied with the products that we send out from our schools.

You are New York City bred. We hope that your understanding of conditions in this twentieth-century city of five million souls will lead you to root out all traces of mediævalism that still cling to our school system.

Once more, Greetings, Congratulations and Best Wishes.

WHERE THE FLAG GOES

Down the hollow, up the hill,
Where the wind is never still,
Riding on the white-tipped foam,
Climbing to the eagle's home—
On the earth or in the sky,
Where the flag goes—there go I!

Where the blow is struck for right,
In the mist or dark or light,
Where the prisoned would be free,
Where men die for liberty,
There I follow where you lead,
Down the hollow, thru the mead,
In the earth or in the sky—
Where the flag goes, there go I!

ANNETTE WYNNE

A car horse gives as much thought to the profits of the line as the teacher does to the improvement of her working conditions. As a result both are treated alike by their superiors.

"I urge that teachers and other school officers increase materially the time and attention devoted to instruction bearing directly on the problems of community and national life."—WOODROW WILSON.

The American Teacher

Democracy in Education Education for Democracy
Published monthly, except July and August, by
THE AMERICAN TEACHER COMPANY, INC.,
70 Fifth Avenue, New York City
GABRIEL R. MASON President
CHARLOTTE E. LEE Vice-President
JAY D. LESTER Treasurer

Edited by
CORNELIA W. CLEAVELAND ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ
BENJAMIN GLASSBERG HENRY R. LINVILLE
BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG J. EDWARD MAYMAN
FRANKLIN J. KELLER SAM SCHMALHAUSEN
JOSEPH JABLONOWER, Business Manager.

At the time of expiration, a bill will be found in the copy. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes in address.

Remittances should be made in postal money-order, express order, draft, stamp or check (New York exchange).

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR FOR THE YEAR—
FOREIGN, \$1.10.

Entered as second-class matter, February 21, 1912, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.; under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Unionism Among Teachers

HON JEANNETTE RANKIN, MEMBER OF CONGRESS

MEN and women, it is a great pleasure to meet a union at any time and it is a special pleasure to meet a teachers' union, for we feel that the world is going to move if the teachers will only become organized.

Every man and woman in the United States is to-day thinking very seriously. They are thinking seriously of this great war and of democracy, and we can no longer afford to think of democracy or to talk of democracy without living democracy; and when we discuss democracy in government it should mean something concrete, it should mean certain steps that we are taking to make it possible for the people to have a voice in their government. We in the West have been thinking about democracy and government for some time and we have worked out certain steps, and each day we realize more than ever that democracy is not a real democracy unless it is based upon education.

The press is the great educator of the masses, and it is on the press that we must depend for a certain amount of education for the masses. It is on the press that we must depend for the facts on which to base our judgments, and I believe it would rank first among the educators. But thru the ballot we have our public school system, and unless that public school system teaches the children to know what democracy is and to live democracy, it is going to be very hard for us to make the grown children live democracy, and unless the teachers who teach the children know something of democracy, it is going to be hard for them to teach the children, and I believe the teachers' union is the first step toward teaching the men and women who are teachers in the schools to know what democracy is.

We have talked a great deal about women in our schools and the effect of women on the lives of children. And yet the women have not expressed their woman's viewpoint in the teaching of the school. They have all taught what the men above them have told them to teach, and the women have not organized; they have not known each other; they have not learned to express their own feelings, and so the result of our school system is practi-

ally the same as it would have been whether the teachers had been men or women, because the women have not exercised any democracy in their work. They have had nothing to say about what they should teach and how they should teach it, and until the teachers realize that they should have something to say about the conditions under which they work and the way they carry on their work you cannot expect those teachers to instill in the minds of the children a real ideal of democracy and make them work for democracy on the outside.

So I believe that our teachers' union is one of the most essential steps, and that it is more essential now that we are talking of democracy that we may make that ideal that we are fighting for, that some are sacrificing so much for, a real ideal, one that we can live up to, that we may translate that ideal into life, and that if we are doing our part we are going to work for democracy in a way that is going to be effective. We must do our part toward making this a real democracy, teaching the children in the very earliest grade that they are responsible and that they should have something to say about the school; that they must not obey rules simply because they are rules; that they must ask the reasons why, and that they must have an opportunity to express their own feelings. And when the teachers have learned to express their feelings they are going to respect the right of the child to express its feelings, and if the child has gone thru a school that is managed as an autocracy it is going to submit to autocracy on the outside, in government and in industry.

So I believe that the very first step is for the teachers to make this demand, and it is not possible to-day for the teachers to work alone. They must work with other teachers and they must work with all working people, and there is no reason why the teacher should not work with the bricklayer and with the stone mason. The conditions for the teachers are a little better than the conditions for some of the other workers, simply because teaching is one of the first professions for women to enter outside of the home. Then we have had certain traditions that we have not lived up to very well, but still we talk a great deal about the child and we consider that the child should have a certain amount

Address Delivered March 23, 1918, at Washington, D. C., to the Inter-City Conference Attended by the Teachers of Baltimore, Norfolk and Washington.

of care. Of course, it does not go very far, but it has gone far enough to make the teacher have a little better social position. Yet it does seem to me that the teacher has not had very much respect when we consider the wages that the teacher has received and the tyranny to which most teachers submit, having so little to say about the general management of the schools.

Now, the schools in Washington may be very different from the schools in the West and I only know from real experience in the West, but we always love to tell this story about our State Board of Education. The women of the schools had complained very mildly of the school books, and the school board decided to change the books, and so they did. But when the teachers examined the new books they found they were worse than the old ones, and they were very much astonished. They went to the school board and asked why it was, and they said, "Well, we are very sorry, but we have not had time to read the books." They had just bought them because they had pretty covers, I suppose. And the teachers submitted again, using text-books that were selected by the book companies and not by the teachers. Under such circumstances as that you cannot expect very much, and so I think it is time the teachers were organizing and making a demand for more democracy in the schools.

Unless we train the children to want democracy and to live democracy, they are going to be perfectly satisfied with an autocratic government, and they are not going to make the demand for democracy in industry that is the vital question before the American people to-day. For we are not anxious for democracy in government merely for government as an end in itself, but we want it as a means to secure to all the people greater opportunities, greater protection, and greater freedom. Then we must have this democracy in government in order that we may have democracy in industry, and that is the vital question before the American people to-day. We have not time to go into that very far but merely to repeat what Henry Ladd says, that it is by the people who do the work that the hours of labor, the conditions of employment and the definition of property is to be made. It is by them the captains of industry are to be chosen, and chosen to be the servants, not masters.

The Declaration of Independence yesterday meant self-government. To-day it means self-employment. And we will have democracy in industry; it will come just as quietly and much more swiftly than the democracy in government which we have achieved. And

all this that we may have democracy in social life; and we will have democracy in social life when we have equal opportunity and equal protection and equal freedom, and the more nearly we approach equality in social life the more rapidly will we reach the time when we will evolve a race with the capacity for happiness and surrounded by the instrumentalities for enjoying life. Then we can feel, as well as say, not only, "I am as good as you are, but you are as good as I am." I thank you.

Mrs Amelia Prendergast

WHEREAS, In the death of Mrs Amelia Prendergast, the teachers and the school children have lost a loyal friend, and the labor movement among teachers a faithful and devoted supporter; be it, therefore

Resolved, By the executive council of the American Federation of Teachers, that while deeply regretting the loss of our friend and co-worker, we rejoice greatly in the spectacle of a life so rich in the service of childhood, and so unselfishly devoted to the highest ideals of the teaching profession.

Long ago Mrs Prendergast fore-saw that only by effective organization among teachers and affiliation with organized labor could the schools be saved from the political and business exploiters who dominate so often the government of our cities. As one of the sixty-eight Chicago teachers discharged because of their true loyalty to the schools, she was ever cheerful and courageous until the wrong was righted.

As a member of the joint committee on organization, as a delegate to both our national conventions, and as a member of the executive council of the American Federation of Teachers, she performed invaluable service to the national labor movement among the teachers. We therefore, extend to the bereaved family, and to the Chicago Teachers Federation, our sincere sympathy in this common loss.

CHAS B STILLMAN, President.
C C WILLARD, Secretary.

The Schools At War

FRANKLIN J KELLER, PH D

Assistant Principal, P S 43, Bronx

LONG has there stood against the schools the tremendous indictment that only to a small degree do they reflect the actual life of the nation, that they are the slowest to respond to the economic and social changes continually occurring among the people. It has been too true that the classroom has been the museum of past and backward civilizations rather than the laboratory in which are demonstrated the forces operative in the world at any given moment. For centuries the inertia apparently inherent in the scholastic mind has given rise to educational reformers who have thundered at the gates of the temples of learning imploring that they be opened to let in the world so that they who sit at the feet of the masters may go forth into life equipped for the struggle. Perhaps in times of peace such will always be the story of education. Habit is mighty and the lines of least resistance always teem with traffic.

But the war is here. Into the philosophic calm and meditation or the drill-masterly noise and tumult of the classroom has tumbled the whole world, a seething, raging, battling world. The parents who sent their children to school at 8.30 and received them back at 3.30 each day, who measured the efficiency of the school by its success in instilling the mysteries of printed symbols or perhaps by its ability to keep shouting youngsters quiet, have suddenly become aware that it is thru their own children that the war speaks most insistently. The government forthwith realizes that the one organized agency thru which it can reach practically every inhabitant of the country is the school and that its most intelligent and reliable agents are the teachers. The war is here and it must be won. Tremendous efforts must be put forth by a whole people, unified and irresistible. Henceforward the advance is along the lines of greatest insistence.

At the opening of the war among the European powers, when the peril of France and England was so great, the panic incident to the immediate danger gave rise to many grievous errors in the attitude toward the schools. The result is that both these countries are making strenuous efforts to get back into the schools the children whom they so unwisely released. From this Dr Dean* enunciates his first great lesson that by no means should the schools be sent to war, but that *the war should be brought into the schools*. Just as the conservatism of centuries was broken down over night by the crisis presented by the war so that daylight saving and government control of the railways were accepted with hardly a murmur, so the schools will have their traditional three R's augmented and transformed by the necessities of the conflict.

Since in the full tide of enthusiasm there is a tendency to subordinate the future and the ultimate outcome to the immediate present need, it is necessary that the author's second lesson be thoroly learned: *the needs of the child take precedence of war needs* because in the last analysis the welfare of the nation is bound up in that of the child. Victory will be empty unless ten years hence there is a virile, moral, ideally American citizenry to realize it.

This lesson leads directly to the third: *war needs are peace needs*. What the children must do to win the war is what they will have to do when the war is won.

At this time the government of the United States is going to learn how to become efficient.

* *Our Schools in War Times—and After*, by ARTHUR D DEAN, Sc D, Professor of Vocational Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, and Supervising Officer, Bureau of Vocational Training, New York State Military Training Commission.

We are going to sew for the Red Cross because it is war time. Later we shall sew for institutions in our community. Now we are going to develop part-time schools because industry needs boys. Later we shall have co-operative courses because boys at work need further schooling. Now we are placing city boys on farms because the farmers need labor. Later we shall place farms on the minds of boys because youth needs contact with nature. Now we have current-events discussions about loans, submarines, aeroplanes, and I W W's because thoughtfully trained people are needed by the government. Now we are to teach patriotism and thrift because the nation needs them. Later we shall teach them because they are essential in themselves.

Now we have extension courses in economical cooking for adult women as a war measure. Later we shall have it as a home measure. Now we are bringing adult women into the schools to receive instruction with their children. Later we shall do the same thing because it is the only sensible procedure under any and all conditions. Now we think in terms of re-education of disabled soldiers because of the immediate need of helping these honored men. Later we shall turn what we have learned to do for these men into better provisions for making self-supporting our crippled and blinded children who are now in dependent institutions being made still more dependent by the very nature of the poor apology for vocational training which is given them. Now we have clearly before us the need for industrial education because the government is crying for workers. Later we shall see the need for industrial education because those who are to work in the industries need it. Now we hold a child-labor law before youth tempted by industry. Later we shall endeavor to hold before youth better opportunities for vocational, physical, and mental training in our schools as an inducement to stay in them.

It is with commendable insight into the future of the country and into the function of the schools that Dr Dean deals with the various activities which have arisen in connection with the war. Naturally it is with the voca-

tional aspect that he is chiefly concerned and here he is particularly happy in his conception of the role of the state in training and supplying the labor for want of which the individual farmer or manufacturer finds himself helpless. In presenting the problem of the farm cadet he has reflected the ideas and sympathies of the workers in the field to a much greater degree than is usual with the supervisor who is not actually at work on the job. Accurate reporting of this kind by leaders with vision is what makes for efficient democracy. It steals German thunder and controls it for the benefit of a free people.

The large city school is confronted with problems such as will tax the resourcefulness of every teacher concerned, and by no means should any attempt be made to lift the burden from her shoulders, for, as Professor Mc Laughlin says, "Democracy is suggestive of responsibility," or with Dr Dean we may agree, ". . . We must use the war as an opportunity to develop service to the State,—service which may be vitalizing and ennobling, full of purposeful appreciation of collective responsibility." For instance, Liberty Loan, Thrift Stamps, Red Cross, war gardens, all require a very definite portion of the classroom time each day. Are the old standards in spelling and arithmetic to be lowered so as to provide time for the war work? Is the teacher to drop out some of the subjects? In what way is the readjustment to be made? In a sense the supervisor is helpless, for the irregularity of the demands is too great. It is better that he should be. The teacher must be her own judge of the value of each subject in the curriculum. It is she alone who can be responsive to the life needs of the children. It is the wise and the sympathetic teacher who finds it difficult to turn to the grammar lesson when the pupils are brimming with good news about Liberty Bonds, and are telling about them—in good English. But of this more anon. It is for the lack of collective responsibility that the Prussian schools have produced a vicious autocracy. It is thru collective responsibility that the

schools are making democracy more and more responsive. Let the people decide that \$3,000,000,000 must be raised to win the war and then let them throw the responsibility back upon themselves to raise it. Watch enthusiasm and performance grow. When a school or a class knows that its share of the loan is \$100,000 or \$1,000 it will quickly be seen how democracy is suggestive of responsibility. The "honor of the school" is as nothing when there is no end to be accomplished; it is everything when there is a job to be done. Let us ponder this matter of the responsibility of the pupils and the teachers so that when there are no more loans to raise we shall find out some of the "moral equivalents of war" and put upon ourselves the responsibility of conquering the new foes.

It will take many a year to dim my memory of the first conference of teachers it was ever my lot to hold. I was talking about grammar, the verb, the noun, and the rest of the family. Outside in the street shouts and cries were rising ever higher and higher. Revolution was fomenting, the school strike was on. Never did purpose seem so futile as it did in those moments. Outside was strife; life was gay and adventurous to those youngsters, wrong-headed and misguided as they were. Inside was academic placidity and—remoteness from the interests of the child. So in these days when the whole world is at war. If the pupil is to be patriotic and loyal he must *act* patriotism and *feel* loyalty, he cannot take it in thru his ears. The life of the classroom must be the life of his country. History and geography must be taught in the light of what is reported in this morning's paper. To teach the products of Iceland is to talk grammar during a strike. Composition will range from letters to soldiers to four-minute speeches on Liberty Loans. Arithmetic will be based on War Savings Stamps and music will teach the pupils to sing the patriotic songs. As Dr Dean says, "Often when it has been asked of the children in France: 'What are you studying?' 'What are they teaching you?' the answer has been: 'The war, madam.' 'The war, monsieur!'" So it may well be that in America the answer

to "What are you teaching?" may be "The war, sir."

In the teaching of the war there is every possibility and desirability of satisfying the child's needs by war needs; in fact, there is greater opportunity than ever before. It will suffice to speak of two impulses educationally invaluable, the dramatic and the work impulse.

The most obvious application of the dramatic instinct is the acting of plays on war topics written by pupils and teachers. The moral and esthetic effects can be made tremendous. Then there is the drama of the pageant. Imagine the effect of three thousand five hundred children standing before their school building to witness the raising of the Red Cross flag, the flag which they have earned the right to fly thru their own work and sacrifice. Then watch them salute the American flag and sing the Star Spangled Banner to the direction of the principal standing on the ledge of a second story window. Finally there is the drama of the idea. Suppose that the pupils are told that if each pupil brings two and a half pounds of old newspapers to school on any one day the value will be great enough to support a French child for a year. Will it appeal? These are not academic propositions, they have worked; and being in charge of them, I can vouch for the results. On one day each week the pupils do bring enough to support a child for a year. Can one say that after the war they will not feel their responsibility for the unfortunate, that their respect for the flag will not be enhanced, that their loyalty will not be something for war times only?

To speak of the work impulse of pupils many of whom have to be forced to do their work may seem an anomaly, but the phenomenon of the bad boy captured by the teacher by giving him plenty of odd jobs to keep him busy is familiar enough to need no comment. The boy in school, good or bad, will work to exhaustion at hard manual labor if the purpose is appealing and, strange to say, idealistic enough. I have seen the laziest boy in the school, one on whom I had had every medical test made to discover any constitu-

tional defects—I have seen that boy sweating and puffing after bringing in four hundred pounds of newspapers for the Red Cross. I have seen a boy of inferior scholarship work all day in the hot sun to pick sixty quarts of berries as part of his bit. I have seen a boy whom I had to put back from a graduating class because of poor work and conduct go down to the railroad yards and bring in in one day applications for \$10,000 worth of Liberty Bonds. And thus with knitting, gardening, farming, printing appeals to parents, making posters, and the like. "War aims are peace aims." Are we making war needs satisfy child needs?

In all these activities it is obvious how the community, as well as the child, is reached. The feeling of solidarity is strengthened. The fatal mistake of leaving the parents out of the reckoning is avoided. Every appeal to the child goes directly to the home. The war becomes a people's war, and only a people's war can make the people care about a world democratically safe. A school that is not a people's school is also futile. We have made attempts to bring the parents into the school and to send the school to the parents, but it is only in these stirring times that we are beginning to realize the vast possibilities of the community center.

Finally there is the question, Is the present spirit of the school in consonance with the future aim toward which all are striving? The affronts to democracy may range from the annual picnic of the ward politician to the German interpretation of the self-definition of nations. And thus while we may be fighting for the democracy of the world, we may use the word to the pupils day in and day out and yet be teaching by act and example the crassest kind of absolutism. The class that is quiet only when the teacher commands is learning to fit itself only into an anarchic state, for the boy or girl who does not learn inner control loses the most precious gift of his American birth or adoption. The pupils who do not have teachers whom they can respect for their sympathy with child life and for their high American idealism, who are compelled to come hither and go hence at the beckoning of a Teutonic drillmaster, can

never feel the fine thrill of being Americans no matter how much the teacher may talk about it. And the teacher who stands in a similar relation to the supervisor will be equally unfortunate. The finest seeds placed in the richest ground will never flower if they feel only the chill of the drenching rain. Thus it is with democracy. All the extra war activities might be carried out with consummate skill. The material results might be astounding. But if pursued in the spirit of the Prussian they can produce only Prussians.

For, after all, compared with the vast resources of the country, the actual material results of the school activities will be meager enough, but we know now that the war, since the entrance of the United States, has become above all a war of ideas, and it is principally with ideas that the teacher arms the pupil. President Wilson, himself a schoolmaster, has taken the world under his tutelage and has thus brought under the banner of democracy even those nations nominally monarchical. There lies the opportunity of each teacher in her own little domain. American ideals in thought, word and deed. With such a shibboleth the schools may well be at war.

Wait and Think

THE Portslade Industrial School requires instructors in tailoring and shoemaking. Advertisements offering £60 a year, with board, lodging and washing, produced no suitable applicants; so the L C C Special Schools Sub-Committee suggested the minimum trade union rate of £3 and £2 5s. a week respectively, with emoluments as before. The Education Committee was staggered at the proposal to increase wages by 150 per cent., and so the matter is to be reconsidered. But the moral of the episode will be obvious to our readers. —*The London Teacher*.

Teachers must learn that fundamentally their interests are one and that to protect them they must be organized as one—UNION.

The Education Situation in England

ALICE HENRY

Author of "The Trade Union Woman"

THE Education Bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons on March 19, after debate, but without a division. We learn from *The Common Cause* that a large group of educators, led by the Workers' Educational Association, who endorse the bill, regret certain grave omissions, and hope to remedy them thru amendments, for which they believe there is full support, in public opinion, and especially in working-class public opinion. They ask:—

That all wage-earning employment be prohibited during the full-time school period, and not merely prohibited up to twelve, and limited between twelve and fourteen as in the bill.

That the age for full-time school attendance be raised from fourteen to fifteen, with power to the local authorities to raise it to sixteen instead of being fixed at fourteen with power to raise to fifteen, as in the bill.

That there be *free* secondary education, and for this the bill makes no provision at all.

That the local authorities be compelled, instead of merely empowered, to provide nursery schools for children between two and five, and efficient medical attendance for all children.

That free compulsory part-time education of not less than *twenty* hours a week be provided for all young persons not receiving full-time education—instead of *eight* hours a week on an average for forty weeks in the year, with a possibility that at a future date the Board of Education may increase this term.

That the wage-earning labor of young persons be limited to twenty-five hours a week (the bill makes no provision touching this), and that no recognition be extended to Works Schools (employer's schools).

Mr. Fisher, the President of the Board of Education, is known to be personally favorable to these principles, but does not hold that public opinion is yet ripe for them. It must be remembered that owing to the exigencies of the war, this House of Commons, with

which Mr. Fisher has to deal, has long outlived its normal span, and cannot be said to be in touch with the public opinion of 1918 on these questions. He is, however, strongly opposing the attack made on the bill from another angle by the Federation of British Industries. They would undermine the whole principle of continued education on the ground that "a period of eight hours a week, taken out of working hours would impose upon many industries a burden which they would be quite unable to bear." They would substitute for such a plan a "selective scheme," to benefit specially chosen children. They desire trade education for children before leaving school, but not such an extension of general education as will "handicap commerce." We seem to have heard similar arguments nearer home.

Apart from the bill for a national system of education, for which Mr. Fisher deserves all credit, an administrative step not at all in keeping with its spirit, has recently been taken, for which he, as President of the Board of Education, must be held responsible. This is contained in the Report of the Departmental Committee on Salaries, dated January 14, but forecasted long before, fixing the salaries of men and women at different rates; on this the *Christian Commonwealth* comments:—

	per annum
Certified men teachers.....	£100
Certified women teachers.....	90
Uncertified teachers (men and women).	65

Here is another instance which makes us understand that the economic struggle of women is not yet ended; it has only commenced. The highest salary quoted is scandalously low for one of the most important professions in the world, and to make such distinctions means that it is difficult for teachers as a body to work for better conditions. It is the old way of ruling the people—by division.

However, the National Federation of Women Teachers was holding a meeting in the Albert Hall on March 23, a meeting of protest supported by all the great women's national societies of the country, including the National Union of Women Workers (the National Council of Women), the National Federation of Women Workers, the Women's Labor League, the Federation of Civil Servants, the Women's Freedom League, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Among the speakers was Miss Phipps, President of the National Federation of Women Teachers; Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, President of the National Union of Women

Workers, and Miss Margaret Bondfield, of the British Women's Trade Union League. The women are particularly wrathy at a statement in the Report that "women accept a lower scale," and that this "is an obvious reason" for the underpayment of women teachers. Women teachers, they say, have been *compelled* to accept a lower scale, but they are not *content* to do so. They now intend to make their indignation at the dual system so plain that no one will ever again have an excuse for believing that they acquiesce in it. Not a few of these women now have the vote, even under England's curiously limited new electoral law.

Obedience to the Colorado Fuel and Iron

NW

THE theory of the *Zeit-geist*, the spirit of the times which impels men widely separated by space to enunciate contemporaneously the same general truth is being illustrated in our school world to-day. Boards of Education from coast to coast, now in New York and again in Colorado, are finding a strange and discomfiting anomaly, the teacher who thinks; who believes what he teaches and teaches what he believes. This is a strange new species, a teacher who actually believes in the Constitution, in the Declaration of Independence, and in the good faith of Woodrow Wilson and the American people! It is all very well for the pedagog to pronounce in thin denatured tones the doctrines of Freedom and Democracy as embodied in duly enshrined documents and faded battles of the past. But along come teachers who proclaim that these doctrines are still vital, revolutionary, worth dying for, and certainly worth trying out on the children of the democratic people.

Scarcely has the flame which burst forth bravely here in New York been temporarily hidden by the folds of negligent silence when it flares up again gallantly in faraway Denver. There, in February, 1918, two clear-

headed and free-hearted teachers were investigated and excommunicated by the "educational leaders" of the city schools. Miss Ellen A. Kennan and Miss Gertrude Nafe were effectively suppressed after several years of successful and distinctively American teaching. What is their guilt? Well, it seems to have been manifold in expression tho more than usually single in essence. The great fault lies, Miss Kennan declared to the Board of Education, in that she believes in American obedience and respect which spring from integrity of mind, as opposed to Prussian obedience which grows out of subordination to an inflexible institution. A rather familiar ring to that! And again Miss Nafe declares: "I feel I must preserve what seems to me the difference between other countries and my own. This war—is a struggle of ideas." And so the tale is told again. The same slogans, "Whatever is, is right," "implicit obedience to constituted authorities," "conscience," "free classroom discussion" appear on every page of the stenographic report of the hearing.

The imposition of a "loyalty pledge" precipitated the investigation in Denver. Miss Kennan says of the pledge, on being urged

by others to sign since the whole affair was a "joke": "I don't take such things as a joke. I believe that a pledge means something." Hence she and Miss Nafe signed the pledge, but struck out of it in protest the words "obedience to constituted authorities." Miss Nafe clearly explains their objection:

"One kind of obedience is democratic obedience, the other is autocratic obedience. Obedience is the root of all government. It certainly appears that I am stabbing at the most important thing in the world, and I should think an explanation is a very necessary thing. If I break the law I am subject to punishment. I have never doubted that for a minute. I am not breaking the laws. I am now being examined as to what I believe about breaking the laws, and that is another point. No government is supposed to go behind the overt act. If I am guilty of overt acts of any sort then the punishment is usually arranged by the law. As to what I believe, that is a matter of conscience. If you can ask me to pledge that in my deepest belief I must give *obedience without any question*, then you could ask me what was my religion and what my politics. There could be no reason you could not ask the silliest questions ever asked, or the most dangerous. *A religious inquisition is the only thing that is supposed to concern itself with those things.* My record is a record of obedience as a whole in the actual work. I am up here to be tried for my reason for teaching that disobedience is a metaphysical possibility.

"I read the other day the proclamation of the late Emperor of Austria issued more than half a century ago—his proclamation to his teachers. He made two points: one was that they were to teach absolute obedience; the second one was that no new ideas were wanted, the old ones were good enough. However, if Austria is punished terribly for her work at the present time (which seems to be Satan's own), I think she won't have to blame just the Emperor, but I think she can put down as a traitor every teacher who taught according to those instructions.

"If there was in Austria one teacher who refused, one teacher who quietly went out to

make a living in other ways, I must answer to-night to her. I cannot stay in free America and do less. If there was not one, I must prove that in America we have one. I came here because I am not nearly so interested in what happens to me as I am in what happens to the Denver schools. You must know as well as I, that I could easily have saved myself, but I am interested that you should hear my statement as to why I think that this is wrong everywhere.

"Our obedience must be the obedience that free people can give. When you have the obedience of the Emperor of Austria you have the schools absolutely in the hands of any party that seizes the reins of government. Their political views will be taught, and those are the only things that can be taught. The other side cannot be heard. It will be smothered, and finally you get as your ideal the poor little country school teachers who, being asked the shape of the earth, answered "I have no personal preference, but will teach it round or square as the school board pleases." I don't think that is the idea of the Denver Board, but I think that is the ideal to which this thing tends."

The record of these teachers shows that their words were not vain glory. Their policy had been to allow in class the fullest discussion of current problems even in times of strikes and disorder, and of political upheavals. Their insistence was always on the spirit of investigation of *both sides* in the belief that only in that way could truth be made manifest. One of these teachers had even expressed her private opinion to one of her pupils outside of class that Judge Lindsay, who was at that time stirring up the resentment of profiteers and a hornet's nest of trouble in Denver, was a great and good man! This brought a kindly warning from above that she must be more discreet. But as their words show, these teachers believe that personal opinion not imposed forcibly on others is a sacred and personal thing—in America. For that reason they refused to fight the matter out on technical grounds, preferring to state their own ideal themselves, tho they knew they would lose their positions. They preferred to have their pupils and the city

know that the clash was one of opposing ideas and standards of freedom of thought.

In order that the readers of this story may not carry away the impression that the two teachers had in their minds chiefly a fancy that it was improper for them to "obey constituted authorities," it is necessary to state that in this case there was also a practical objection to obeying authorities. Authorities are made up of persons after all, and the Board of Education of Denver is made up largely of persons whose interests lie very close to those of the infamous Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, that band of moneyed freebooters responsible for the tragedy of Ludlow. Miss Kennan and Miss Nafe were known to be in sympathy with the strikers of Ludlow, and perhaps had not been "discreet" thru saying honestly how they felt about the shooting of human beings by the employers' Hessians. When the nation's crisis arose, the Denver Board members saw their opportunity. They slipped in their joker about obedience to "constituted authorities," meaning the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and the two teachers did what the company probably expected, and what they should have done anyway—refused to sign.

The latest news from Denver indicates that citizens are showing signs of coming to their senses, and are disposed to inquire who is determining the personnel of the teaching staff anyway. When asked to explain the dismissal of the two teachers, the Board members cross their hands and say, "The Federal authorities now have jurisdiction over the case. The question of loyalty will be determined by them." Thus is the American people "double-crossed" by the scoundrels who steal our mineral lands, and wave the American flag in our eyes to keep us from seeing.

And so this species appears here and there, the *species pedagogis Americanus*. What shall we do with it? Well, Boards of Education are sincerely much worried. They sit up nights to devise new tests and measures, or rather new traps and punishments. Their way of meeting a new phenomenon is to annihilate it. But what if this species is not new? What if the type of American who believes in the working value of democratic

ideas, who lives, breathes, thinks, and fights for, democracy and the search of truth is really as old as 1776 and is well established by now? Maybe if the official superiors of educational boards were not so wound up in red tape and petty autocracies of their own making they would see that this is the very species that is the American ideal and is well represented already in the Presidential chair itself. There are newer, braver things in heaven and earth, oh Superintendents, than are found in your bureaucracies! Shall we go a-gunning for this teacher who thinks?

Sidetalks With Superintendents--XI.

ESPECIALLY APPLYING TO THE NEW YORK
BROTHERHOOD

John Smith, subordinate

THE world has been overturned since last I talked with you, and only a few individuals have been able to land on their feet and keep their heads while landing. For the most part, mankind finds itself torn loose from the stable relations of civilization, and wandering about in unfamiliar fields. As, for example, thousands of men are proclaiming their undying love for democracy who, even now if a crisis should develop between democracy and autocracy in America in education, or in politics, or in economic rights would swing their influence to autocracy every time. Old alliances and old habits of thought are too powerful to be thrown aside so soon. Even in their enthusiasm for democracy many recruits to the idealism that is new to them are autocratic. One of them said to me the other day while I was speaking approvingly of the speech made by Professor Soares of Chicago on the German menace in history, replied "Yes, that was a fine speech; it should be printed, and every teacher should be made to read it."

Of course, you will smile, but don't. I know a board of superintendents that takes exactly the same attitude toward the teachers

under its authority. Among superintendents as well as others there are many new or incomplete converts to democracy whose comprehension of its basic philosophy is confused, and they themselves constitute a problem in social assimilation that makes true democrats weep. In a way it is all right for you and for us to smile at the teacher whose passion for democracy is so strong that he wants to compel others to read, and of course believe, what he has read and believes, but it is not the same thing if you do it.

You may think you haven't done anything like compelling teachers to read and approve the things you approve, but let us see. Did you not have a large share in creating the conditions which compelled practically every teacher in the City of New York to sign a loyalty pledge which neither you nor anyone else had authority from the national government to formulate? Have you not permitted principals of schools to formulate additional loyalty pledges, some of which proclaimed as treason the holding of an opinion that a peace might be negotiated?

Have you not called before you many teachers whose names had been reported to you for "disloyalty," and have you ever permitted those teachers to face their accusers? Have you not endeavored to compel the accused persons to accept your own peculiar slant of thought on the issues of the war, or, failing in that, have you not contrived to place them into a logical situation where the inference of disloyalty would be easy for newspapers and the public to form?

Now, all this looks as if you were a variety of educational criminal, but I don't believe that at all. It only means that your thought associations in the doctrine and practise of democracy are incompletely formed. You have not yet learned that democracy implies the right to hold an opinion and to have that opinion evaluated in terms of social well being. If you attempt to club my opinion to death, without meeting it, by dismissing me from the service because you have the power, then democracy has no content that covers the holding of opinions.

In another and even more fundamental way you are inclined to be immature. In the

early days of our participation in the war, there was a considerable body of good citizens outside the school systems that was not convinced that the war was necessary. It may be that those were wiser who saw early in the conflict how the American people would have to meet the arrogant challenge of the German government to limit our use of the high seas, because they correctly interpreted the challenge as an early manifestation of a menace to our own national existence. Hence, they said this is to be a war of self-defense. The essence of the method of true democracy lies in the practise of keeping ideas constantly before the minds of the people, and being patient until positive reaction occurs. Some very intelligent, and not disloyal persons, did not experience this reaction in the mind until after the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, when they saw as clear as light that Germany had no intention of quitting in the East. There are other factors that I believe have wellnigh persuaded the entire nation that our participation in the war is right, and these are the ideas that President Wilson has accepted, crystallized and presented with rare and statesmanlike skill.

Some of these ideas which the President has made into parts of a world policy were originated by the very political group in our country that has struggled against the war the longest. And they were held even by the hated Bolsheviks. All of which goes to show that Woodrow Wilson is not only a statesman, but a pastmaster in the method of democracy as well.

It has long been apparent that you do not comprehend how ideas develop socially, how they struggle for existence, how those best adapted to the exigencies of the time survive, how finally they enter the minds of great numbers of persons and inspire whole nations to tremendous deeds. If you once get the notion of democracy working organically in relation to its own ideas that come from every conceivable source, that struggle for support, that surge ahead thru opposition, that become refined and exact thru criticism, then

you have something that will do more to lift you out of the rut than anything else I can suggest.

I don't suppose it occurred to you that by denying to teachers the right to reach their own conclusions about the war without compulsion that you were far less reasonable than are our very decent secret service men. Well, you were. Secret service men have interviewed teachers who were reported as being "disloyal" by overzealous fellow teachers, and have given the accused a "good character." Subsequently, you took up the cases, and thrust the victims out into darkness.

That has always looked bad to me. Aside from the issue of understanding or not understanding the method of democracy, it isn't a bit nice for superior officers in a profession to do things that will give rise to the suspicion that they are willing to sacrifice individuals as a means to professional advancement.

Thus, it is difficult for our democratic body politic to digest and assimilate all the products of arrested or immature development in our midst. But the job must be done; otherwise, fermentation or autointoxication will set in.

Constructive Warfare

F J K

WHEN the match was set to this world conflagration, little was known and not much more was conjectured, as to the valuable by-products which would result. Altho we shall be loth to risk another fire in our social houses to secure a further portion of roast pig (for one can cultivate a distaste for even that high priced delicacy if real estate values soar to too great altitudes), it need not prevent us, now that this destruction is in progress, from snatching from the flames whatever has been assayed and enhanced in value by the fire. Of these, nothing is more striking than the interest which has been aroused in the production and distribution of food products, along with a realization upon the part of a whole people of the interdependence of city and country. The first problem that presented itself in connection with this was that of making good the shortage of farm labor. The attempt to supply this from available sources within the brief period intervening between the declaration of war last year and the opening of the planting season was naturally attended by errors and oversights, the most important of which arose from a misconception of those factors which are concerned in the movement of labor in normal peace times.

Not merely is it a question of statistics and mechanics or of the transportation of so many unoccupied labor units to the field where they are needed; not only is it a matter of delicate adjustment to be made between the laborer and his employer; but it is the complex problem of harmonizing the relations of farmer to distributor and of distributor to consumer, and of all three of these to the state, that must be solved, if there is to be obtained a maximum of product at a minimum of price. And only with these objects in view can women and school children be placed in the country to do the work formerly done by men. Something of the success attained in meeting these conditions last summer, with the lessons learned for the coming season, is well worth recounting.

New York State has placed upon its statute books a military training law which enrolls every boy between sixteen and nineteen years of age in the Cadet Corps of the state, and requires him to train for three hours a week during the school year. Wisely, administration of the law has provided for certain alternatives which give credit for work on farms or in designated industries. In other words, there is recognition of the fact that labor may be so social in its bearing that it

is on a par with the bearing of arms, even when the latter is in defense of the state itself. Thus, last summer high school boys of the requisite age who served on the farms of the state for four weeks or more were awarded chevrons and were exempt from military training for the year. The path from the school to the farm and back again is not, as it may appear in our easy thinking, one bestrewn with garlands and beset with loud acclaim, but was, especially in its first year, a trail to be cut thru the jungle. To bring the farmer, the boy and the teacher into a harmonious and mutually profitable relation was a task of no mean proportion. As for the consumer, he has not even yet been heard from.

In the vicinity of Highland, N Y, there is carried on an intense cultivation of fruit—strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, grapes, peaches and pears. Two years ago thousands of quarts of berries rotted on the bushes because there was no one to pick them. Last year, even with help from the schoolboys, many went to waste for lack of pickers, and many more for lack of organization on the part of the farmers and for total disregard of the consumer for whom presumably all the work was done. Each of those concerned in the attempt to save the situation was conscientiously trying to do his part but was handicapped by a lack of larger vision, the short-sightedness of the enacted law, or our economic faith in the "eternal law" of supply and demand.

Thru the initiative of one teacher in De Witt Clinton High School, Mr H W Millspaugh, who had lived in the fruit section for many years, nine camps were established on various farms, each one consisting of twenty-five boys in charge of a teacher. The farmers contributed the shacks for sleeping and eating quarters and part of the equipment, while the teachers contributed their services. Each boy paid \$3.50 a week out of his earnings for the actual cost of the food and its preparation. The services of the teacher comprised the supervision and in most cases the actual performance of all the work connected with camp life, at the same time acting as father, mother, minister, doc-

tor, nurse, and labor leader for each boy.

In previous years the work was done by itinerant Italian families, by school children from Poughkeepsie, and by Bowery lodgers imported for the purpose. These sources of supply were always more or less unsatisfactory and are now failing entirely. The entrance of high school boys accompanied by their teachers did not, and must not serve merely as an easy solution of the farmers' difficulties, but must be made a factor in a new social adjustment which will conceive of food raising as a public service and not as a private enterprise. The enterprise remains private; the end must, however, include service and not merely profit. Otherwise the movement is, and should be, doomed to failure.

One factor is the market. Work has been irregular, pay inadequate, and at times berries were left to rot because the market price did not warrant the picking. The market price is not controlled by the demand and not necessarily by the supply, but by the manipulation of the commission merchant who is playing for the largest profit regardless of the demands and needs of the consumer. For many purposes the currants picked at the end of the season are just as good and plentiful as those picked at the beginning, but the price has dropped from fifteen cents to five cents a quart. The placing of boys on farms is of course a state activity, and if the state is to conserve food it must control prices as well as supply labor. This is not a matter of merely abstract justice, but a vital necessity for success. No one is keener than the boy to realize that his efforts are not benefiting the mass of the people, and so under the present conditions he will not volunteer to do the work. Except under a system of conscription that would be intolerable he will remain an idle asset.

Then there is the farmer. Despite the fact that he realizes he is caught in a failing labor market he still harbors the "hiring and firing" tradition. It is difficult for him to understand that he is being whirled along in a social readjustment and that the fixing of the conditions of labor may come from a small group as well as from Washington. All

the elements of the successful labor union have been present, even to intelligent leadership on the part of the teachers, who themselves have a disinterested social vision. Early in the venture it became evident that a boy could not earn enough at the prevailing rate of one and one-half cents a quart to pay his board. The stage was all set for a strike. A meeting of the camp leaders and the farmers was held. After the preliminary jockeying for position the truth came out. If the boys did not stay the berries would not be picked. The market price was high enough to warrant the paying of an extra half cent. The boys were much more satisfactory than the previous pickers had been; the lack of thieving, for one thing, compensated for much. The half cent would be paid to those who remained until the end of the season and who during that time did satisfactory work, the final arbiter of fulfillment being the teacher. Mutual understanding had been secured and confidence was restored. But one can readily see that the food situation cannot be left to the wits of those locally concerned. There must be organization and coordination. Nor will the imposition of judgments arising from a central authority leave any less initiative to the individual farmer. At least, it will leave him enough. In the majority of cases it is lack of stimulation rather than repression that is to be feared.

The boy is not merely a labor unit in the conservation of food. He himself is to be conserved, and, what is more, developed. First of all, the boy must be gotten to the camp. In spite of the feeling of some of the farmers that "it is your patriotic duty to pick my berries for me," perhaps one boy in twenty-five can be said to be motivated solely by a desire to do his bit. Each one sees in the work various advantages—association with other boys, a stay in the country, improved health, and a fair economic reward. He has a right to expect these and we, as educators, are in duty bound to see that he gets them. The sense of social service can come as an ideal inculcated as the work progresses, and a certain accompaniment should be a course of lectures relating the task to the larger purpose. Moreover, the housing and

feeding must be such as will raise rather than lower the standards of the boy. Unfortunately this has thus far not been the case. The transition from Bowery bums, who used to do the work, to high school students has perhaps been too sudden. But the remedy is easy if the community is awakened. Large groups may be concentrated in centers, the boys to be sent out each morning and brought back at night in auto trucks. With little adjustment every town schoolhouse provides clean, healthy, sanitary quarters. These are absolutely essential, for a great danger in dealing with the children of the poor is that we stress too much a satisfaction with inconveniences and do too little to implant a love of decent human needs.

From the point of view of efficiency, of a particular job to be done, the work at Highland was a great success. Fruit that would otherwise have been wasted was saved and nearly two hundred boys boarded themselves and left for home with surpluses ranging from nothing to ten or fifteen dollars. But from the point of view of social reconstruction and food conservation only the surface has been scratched. The time to envisage the problem as a whole is the present. The keynotes are centralization, organization and social vision. The state must take the initiative, assuring the consumer of a moderate price for the product, and the farmer, the picker, and the dealer a fair return for their services. With centralization, organization, and social vision as the keynotes the placing of boy labor on the farms should become a valuable and permanent by-product of the war.

Reconstruction

The President, in his letter to the New Jersey Democrats, spoke of the days of "political and economic reconstruction that lie ahead of us." Teachers, are you preparing for those days? Are you studying economic tendencies? Are you familiar with the Reconstruction Policy of the British Labor Party? If not, you ought to be. Get a copy from the *New Republic* of February 16, 1918.

The Russian Schools and the Revolution

A RUSSIAN

EVEN the enemies of New Russia must admit that interest in it is no longer confined here to a few queer people who keep a samovar, but is becoming widespread and quite genuine. Only a few years ago Russia was *Æsop's land* to us; we believed, if we read them at all, stories about it that would not fit any people above or below the equator. It was to us a large, clumsy animal, kept safe in a huge cage by its Czars so that it did not disturb people like our revolutionary neighbors whose stones sometimes flew over the fence and mussed the cabbage. But when that animal broke loose and sent his last keeper packing we sat up and took notice.

Some began to feel sorry for the poor, inexperienced people that lacked the brains and the cash to dig oil wells and silver mines and to build railroads. They felt that the business corporations which have helped themselves out of the pockets of the American people should do the same for Russia. Others were interested because it was the latest, still others because it offered an opportunity to change the studio decorations. Most were interested in the animal for its claws that might tear Germany from the Allies' throats.

But some there are who really want to know the Russian, not as a "foreigner," but as a human type with a history, traditions, and culture of his own, who want to know him for his own sake irrespective of the material consequences of the acquaintance.

How often does a teacher ask a new boy who promises to be a "case," "What school do you come from?" Even in the same high school teachers can tell a Latin class from a stenography class. The educational institution we pass leaves a lasting stamp upon the very fabric of our minds. We teachers could not justify our professional existence were it not for the belief that the schools are the

salient factor in determining the national character. We shall therefore try to guess at the Russian by asking him, "What school do you come from?"

To begin with, the day he left school was not the day he began life; he knew of no such division between school and the vital problems of human activity. The convictions for which he went to the barricades in 1905 germinated in his soul during the early years of school life. Did they teach the children politics? Indeed, not. The school had no contact whatever with the outer world. The public was never heeded, and the business man never sat in the school and took his hat off like a gentleman. This aristocratic seclusion of schools entrusted to professionals responsible only to the government had its good as well as its bad effects. The schools could not move with the time. Liberalism was haunted. Parents who sent their children to school never dared dream that they might have something to say about the preparation the children were given for life. But school authorities know more about teaching than business men do, after all. The Russian school did not bother about new fads, but it was certainly thoro, efficient. Arithmetic was made to serve its purpose of training the child to accurate, logical thinking; history and geography had to be remembered, the native tongue had to be mastered—there was no fooling with the Goddess of Wisdom.

But what about those early convictions, one asks. Did the child get his first belief in social justice from the multiplication table? We must wait just a little longer with the answer to these queries and first throw some light upon the general tendency and the aim of Russian education.

The Russian may not have received a practical education. But what is practical—that which prepares for making a living, or that

which by furnishing the intelligence with knowledge of how to train the will, giving it power to choose the good and the beautiful? The Russian enjoyed the latter. Not even in the commercial "gymnasia" were the cultural subjects subordinated to other studies. And the main factor in the development of the Russian, from his first school year to the day he left the university was his reading. That is how we account for the early awakening of his mental and moral consciousness.

There is hardly a Russian classic that the Russian had not made the acquaintance of in childhood thru the reader, which contained extracts from the best poetry and prose. Then there was the school library, not an assumed classroom supply, but a large, well selected library for the entire school, where the boy could come at the end of a week's work and—no, not always pick, you don't do much picking in Russia—usually be given a book by his own teacher.

His introduction to the histories and literatures of foreign countries was made early. Yes, the Russian government was not afraid to let the growing generation love and admire other nations. You see it took obedience for granted, supported as it was by the huge army and did not care whether you really loved it or not. Thus school children were taught the contributions of Beethoven, Michael Angelo, Newton, Washington. Dickens was his constant companion, and the Vicar of Wakefield was a familiar book.

He continued his foreign reading in the secondary and higher schools. Much of it was forbidden, but he read it and discussed it at the secret meetings of his literary club, where Byron, Shelley, Voltaire, Zola and Heine were idolized. He read extensively in his own literature, of course, and sent many contributions to the magazines and newspapers. He lived and vibrated with the entire world. He would have been ashamed to remain ignorant of Shakespeare, Dante, Cervantes, Hugo, Goethe, just because they were not Russian, or of the leading works on religion, just because he was not religious.

Our Russian was a tragic figure the year after he left the university. Can and Will clashed in him as they have in every tragedy

from Shakespeare to Ibsen. Visions boundless as the steppes he cherished in his soul, and a cold, ugly little world, pressed and shrunk into roundness, froze the smile of welcome from his lips. There he was ready to do and die for his country, but the click of the gendarme's heels on the hard pavement told him he could not, until he could endure it no longer.

Loyalty does not consist in calling everyone who differs from you a "traitor"; it does not consist in damning everything German; it does not consist in teaching the philosophy of Hate, nor in encouraging persons to use illegal methods to punish traitors or pro-Germans. Loyalty consists in being ready, at all times, to sacrifice all for American *ideals*.

This is the Official Organ
of the
American Federation of Teachers
(Affiliated with American Federation of Labor)

OFFICERS OF THE A. F. OF T.
CHAS. B. STILLMAN, President
1225 Sedgwick St., Chicago, Ill.

ETHEL E. BEERS, Vice-President
3414 S. Paulina St., Chicago

C. C. WILLARD, Recording Secretary
7218 Cornell Ave., Chicago

MARGARET SNODGRASS, Corr. Sec.
1061 Dakin St., Chicago

F. G. STECKER, Financial Sec.
1618 Lake Ave., Wilmette, Ill.

JAMES A. MEADE, Treasurer
2628 Sayre Ave., Chicago

TRUSTEES
Henry R. Linville George J. Jones
Anita Bailey Wm. T. McCoy
Lydia I. Trowbridge

L. V. LAMPSON, National Organizer,
Central High School,
Washington, D. C.

WHAT THEY SAY

Dear Friend:

In our many discussions concerning the Teachers Union it has seemed impossible for us to stick to our line of argument. So many irrelevancies have come up as to make it difficult for us to know at all times what it was that had given rise to the discussion or whither it was leading.

However, a few important points of difference in our attitudes toward Union policy and tactics have stood out. It is these points of difference that I want to make explicit in this letter.

First, as to the means of securing members: You always call for wider publicity. You want a press agent to take hold, and boom the organization. If I interpret aright the attitude of the majority of those who now constitute the membership of the Teachers Union, the Union desires publicity for its achievements and its ideals, but it will achieve such publicity only by methods that are in harmony with its ideals. It will not stoop to the spectacular in order to attract public notice. It will make no claims for achievements or possibilities of achievement to which it is not entitled.

Second, as to the means of making the Union more acceptable to the timid teachers: You suggest that the Union make itself more acceptable to the authorities in the system as a means to this end. It would take a long time to go into the reasons why our Union is not acceptable to the educational autocracy. And yet the Union is not unacceptable to real educational authorities. True educational leaders, such as Professor John Dewey, think our Union not only worth while, but necessary, if the growth of a true professional spirit is to be secured among teachers. Educational authority in the sense of bureaucratic administration is no doubt hostile to our movement. True educational leaders, however, are not only friendly to our cause, but they are also its very inspiration. Much as our Union would desire the endorsement of all those who are in power, I believe you will agree with me that if it set out to win the support of some of those whom Professor Dewey calls "educational Dogberrys," it would lose the very reason for its existence.

Third, you would have the Union ward off the blows that are being directed against it by its tory foes—if only such warding off would make membership in the Union more comfortable for those who are in it now. To this end you would have the Union make

blatant boasts of its patriotism. The war has roused many people to a sense of social obligation who have never before been socially minded. For this reason they clamor about their novel experience, as would a child at the discovery of a new toy. But our Union had its inception in the very spirit of social duty and social responsibility, and to our members it is no new feeling that calls for ecstatic outbursts. A summary which we are preparing will show that we have our share of members in the army and in other forms of war service. But we can not use this fact of high devotion to the country in order to advertise the Teachers Union, or to secure caste for it with people who would discredit the Union. Such people know full well what our true purposes are, but our purposes they cannot attack. For this reason they arrogate to themselves the patriotic virtues and deny these virtues to persons and to an organization that have been practising devotion to social welfare all their lives.

Fourth, and finally, you urge always that we be more practical. Now, the word *practical* is used in many senses, some good, some bad. We want to be practical, in the sense that we want to *achieve* democracy in education as soon as fair methods and continued devotion to our ideals will make possible. But we *will not* be practical in the sense that we shall secure numbers at whatever cost of original high purpose. In doing what you are pleased to term "getting across" we shall not desert our standards, for then we shall have no object in getting across.

You will no doubt call this a slow and ineffective way of dealing with the problem. But it is the only way if we would have real growth instead of apparent growth, if we would have real progress instead of mere activity. Only in this can we develop in the entire teaching body and in the public generally a real regard for the teaching profession.

This is but a personal interpretation of what the Teachers Union is and means to-day. This is what the Union is and means to me. Time and experience may show me and those who think as I do, to be in the wrong. I believe that our Union is so untrammelled by fixed ideas and so uncommitted to a rigid program, that it will change its tactics if time and experience prove that such a change will be more effective. But whatever the change in method, the new method must be in consonance with its original high ideals, ideals of honest, sincere dealing with the educational problem. Activity in this connection and in this way is patriotic, be it war or be it in peace. Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH JABLONOWER

The Great Dichotomy

HELLER AND KELLER

To the Editors, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

May I take up a little space to unburden myself of some thoughts on the policy of THE AMERICAN TEACHER?

The magazine was full of promise when it began the present year. There was some hope that its pages would undergo a sort of renaissance. We were assured of a live sheet, full of human interest. Then the magazine relapsed into its old-time didactic phase. One looks in vain now for that freshness and vitality, that connection with the living world, the suggestion that the magazine is the actual mouthpiece of the living, struggling teacher.

The most fatal indictment, in my opinion, against the April issue which I have just received, is its insufferable dullness. Is there any excuse for that in a magazine which pretends to be the leading light in the movement for democracy in education? Take the article entitled "The Great Dichotomy." Without casting any reflection on the writer, Mr Keller, for whose character and ability I have the profoundest admiration, I am tempted to ask briefly, "What is it all about?"

Some heavy hand seems to have struck the magazine and is blighting its existence.

What seems to be paralyzing the progressive tendencies which the editors have always claimed as their own? May I make a few suggestions?

The magazine should cease being the property of the dull educational theorist and philosopher, as it seems to me to be at present. Education is life. THE AMERICAN TEACHER could just as well be interesting without sacrificing anything on the side of principle. Why not include more educational news, world topics of general interest, classroom advice, news of the teaching staff, personal news, good fiction, educational progress in foreign countries and even a little humor? If the present editorial staff is not capable of giving the teachers an up-to-date, readable, modern, aggressive magazine, then it is time for some of the editors to retire and make way for new blood.

WILLIAM I HELLER

We feel that the insertion of this letter amply fulfills Mr. Heller's requirement of "good fiction." May we also supply "even a little humor" by informing our readers that this exuberant criticism was written at THE AMERICAN TEACHER office on AMERICAN TEACHER paper by means of THE AMERICAN TEACHER typewriter.—EDITORS.

An Open Letter to Text-book Publishers

Gentlemen:

Representatives of different book firms have called upon me from time to time to talk to me about their latest publications, and about the merits of the textbooks published by them. I have tried to give them as much of my time as possible, and to treat them with deserving courtesy, for I realize that in a way they are rendering me and the school a great service by bringing to my notice valuable textbooks that perhaps otherwise I would not think of ordering.

However, I object strongly to the way a number of agents ply their trade. I take this opportunity of stating my objections, though it may be true that your particular agent is not guilty of any of the practices mentioned. If he is not, I congratulate you on your fine methods of conducting business. If he is, I wish you would call his attention to the objections.

Briefly I object to the following:

1. Asking the pointed question, "Do you use —'s Geography, or —'s Reader?"
2. Asking, "Will you order our —'s Speller, etc?" 3. Asking the principal out for dinners, or to the theatre, or to a baseball game, etc.

I believe the true function of the agent is to call attention to the merits of his publications, and then to allow the books to stand or fall on their own merits. I like to have your representatives call, take a few minutes to point out the excellence of their book or books, and then to leave it to my judgment to decide whether, taking all things into consideration, a given book is, or is not, the best book for the particular class that is to use it. That is my only test—not the name of the publisher or the author, or the fact that the representative is a "good fellow."

I will appreciate it very much if you will have the contents of this letter reach your representatives. Cordially yours,

GABRIEL R. MASON,

Principal.

We are glad to observe this indication of coming professional self-respect among our superior officers.—EDITORS.

Prussian Schools

The Prussian Elementary Schools, Thomas Alexander, PhD. New York, The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

THE following study of the Prussian elementary schools was made during the year and a half preceding the outbreak of the Great War. In setting forth the facts there has been little attempt to draw any conclusions. We believe, however, that a careful study of the Prussian school system will convince any unbiased reader that the Prussian citizen cannot be free to do and act for himself; that the Prussian is to a large measure enslaved thru the medium of his school; that his learning, instead of making him his own master, forges the chain by which he is held in servitude; that the whole scheme of Prussian elementary education is shaped with the express purpose of making ninety-five out of every hundred citizens subservient to the ruling house and to the state.

The elementary schools of Prussia have been fashioned so as to make spiritual and intellectual slaves of the lower classes. The schools have been used almost exclusively to establish more firmly the Hohenzollern upon his throne. The present Emperor wrote in 1889: "We have thought for a long time of making use of the schools in combating the spread of socialistic and communistic ideas.

The schools must create in the youth the conviction that the doctrines of socialism are contrary not only to God's decrees and Christian moral teaching, but in reality incapable of application and destructive both to the individual and the state. The school . . . must impress on the youth how Prussian kings have continually taken pains to better the conditions of the working class from the time of the legal reforms of Frederick the Great down until to-day."

The Prussian elementary school is the best in the world from the point of view of the upper class of Germany. From the point of view of the lower classes it is the worst system, for it takes from them all hope of improving their condition in life. The Prussian method of education has produced a people that moves as one man at the command of its king. The result is exactly the same as if one would take an infant and teach him only one word to be used in response to all situations—in Germany this word is "Fatherland."

With these words Professor Alexander prefaces his study of German education. In a sense they summarize the contents better than could those of any reviewer. The au-

thor has visited over six hundred classes and has in many cases taken stenographic notes of recitations. The result is a large volume filled with facts that give warrant to the conclusions of the author. It is such sober and earnest observation and research as this that will enable us to avoid the mistake of our enemies while we are fighting for ideals and democracy.

Teachers' Salaries and Civilization

Dr Joseph Swain, Chairman of the National Education Association Committee on Teachers' Salaries, will deliver an address at the Pittsburgh meeting on "Our Profession Shall Not Go Into Bankruptcy." He will present eye-opening facts showing how salaries have not kept pace with the increase in the cost of living.

The following statement is issued by Dr Swain's committee:

Present salaries will not meet the ever-increasing cost of living.

Teachers are leaving their schoolrooms by the thousands.

They are taking up war work or entering industrial occupations.

Their places are being filled, if at all, by unprepared and inexperienced recruits.

Only our best efforts can maintain present standards.

Our children need the best the country can provide.

Democracy must have enlightened civilization thru education.

The Washington *Herald*, commenting on the formation of a new teachers' union, says: "The salaries of the Washington school teachers is below that which is paid to a number of *their pupils when they leave school*. . . . The teachers now are using the proper methods in fighting for their rights and this paper will support them in their efforts." Come, teachers, follow the patriotic example of your capital city.

President Samuel Gompers says that the great war "is a holy war for democracy." In the holy war for educational democracy, Mr and Miss Teacher, are You doing your bit? Have you obtained any new subscriptions for THE AMERICAN TEACHER? Any new Union members?

Women's Clubs and Teachers' Salaries

TO START A NATION-WIDE DRIVE OF WOMEN'S CLUBS FOR BETTER TEACHERS VIA BETTER SALARIES FOR TEACHERS IS ONE OF THE FEDERATION'S GREATEST OPPORTUNITIES

WHAT ORGANIZED WOMEN CAN DO

Wherever there are schools there also are or should be women's clubs.

Wherever there are women's clubs there is or should be interest in schools.

No interest of women is independent of teachers' salaries—even literature and art, yes even frivolous recreation will shrivel into disappointment unless our schools attract our ablest youth as teachers.

Helping increase teachers' salaries, helping persuade ablest high school girls and boys develop themselves via teaching, helping improve the pleasures of teaching,—are three services which women are admirably equipped to do and do easily and quickly.

Unless women take hold in a large and enthusiastic way, a teacher shortage will occur that will threaten our very ability to keep schools open even by continuing to lower the standard of teaching ability.

In Kansas City women's clubs and women reporters aided greatly in securing a tax levy for increasing grade teachers' salaries 25 per cent.

In smaller communities teachers and school boards will welcome the help of women's clubs.

- (1) In securing facts.
- (2) In informing school boards and public.
- (3) In mobilizing public interest after it becomes informed.

CAMPAIGN MATERIAL IS AVAILABLE

If the Biennial decides to start a nation wide crusade it will find information easy to get and can promise immediate help to any club or any individual club woman wanting to help local schools.

Every state superintendent is much concerned and is gathering information which is free upon application, as is Secretary J W Crabtree of the N E A, 1400 Mass. Ave, Washington, D C.

Hundreds of campaigns have been successfully waged this last year—with what facts and arguments you can easily learn.

Perhaps the shortest cut to prompt aid is via the Institute for Public Service.

Grade Teachers' Salaries a National Peril (No. 112), Teacher Shortage in Number and Quality (No. 114), Teacher Shortage in

Schools and Colleges (117), College Women and En-jines on the Stage (No. 120) are three Public Service bulletins which have been ordered in lots of 10 to 1,000 by teachers' leagues and superintendents.

In many cases boards have raised salaries immediately after merely reading Grade Teachers' Salaries a National Peril,—at Fresno, Cal, \$50 per teacher; 22 per cent at Republic, Mich, "due in large measure to your bulletins," etc.

At 10c. for 10, or 40c. for 50, or 75c. per 100 we can send such bulletins postpaid. Public Service is 50c per year or \$1 for three subscriptions.

It pays to advertise woman's interest in teachers' salaries.—*Bulletin No 24, Institute for Public Service.*

Missouri Teachers Ask Higher Salaries

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—A conference of the city and country superintendents of Missouri in session here advocated the formation of a union among teachers, and declared that teachers must be paid more or Missouri's schools would be crippled. Superintendent J Robinson of Holden declared the teachers' union should be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The salaries paid teachers in this State are sub-average. Teachers' associations have for many years protested at the annual state meetings. Arthur Cline of Novinger stated that the miners in his town "are making about \$200 a month while most of us teachers are making an average of \$60."

A report of Uel W. Lamkin, State Superintendent, shows that more than 50 per cent of the Missouri teachers are unable to live on their salaries, and must engage in farming or some form of office work in order to live. Delegates from all parts of the State insisted that it was becoming more difficult to get teachers.—*Christian Science Monitor*, April 25, 1918.

The New York Board of Education suspends without pay pending charges and then refuses to bring charges for months. Meanwhile the suspended teacher and his family live on hope—or despair. What a brilliant money saving scheme! What humanitarianism!

Resolutions of the Grade Teacher's Union, Washington, D. C.

The attention of all teachers is directed to these resolutions which teachers organizations should embody in letters to U. S. Senators and Representatives for the purpose of making a drive to help the Washington teachers. A bill is now before Congress asking for a minimum of \$1,000 for the teachers of Washington. Help them and help yourselves.

WHEREAS, The rate of pay of teachers in the District of Columbia is low, especially in the case of the kindergarten teachers, where the minimum is \$500.

WHEREAS, Because of this fact and the unprecedented cost of living which promises to be long continued, teachers are leaving the service to take up positions at much higher salaries in the Government or in business; and,

WHEREAS, Two hundred teachers have already left and others will be compelled to do likewise; and,

WHEREAS, Such withdrawals are fast producing a state of demoralization in the school system; and,

WHEREAS, Various expedients such as the suspension of competitive examinations, the lowering of standards of normal school graduates eligible to teach and the reappointment of teachers who left the service years ago, have utterly failed to save the situation; and,

WHEREAS, Recently 200 persons made inquiries as to examinations for teachers but only 4 took them because of the low salaries and other conditions; and,

WHEREAS, Any number of pupils who have never been in the high school, not to mention graduating therefrom, are obtaining positions of \$1,200 and \$1,400; and,

WHEREAS, Grade teachers must be high and normal school graduates; and,

WHEREAS, Washington is the most expensive city in the country in which to live and is likely to continue so; and,

WHEREAS, Congressman Nolan has stated that he has in writing enough signatures of members of the House to insure the passage of a bill by that body providing a minimum salary of \$1,080 a year for employees of the Government, even the most unskilled and unlettered, thus showing the sentiment of the House on this subject; and,

WHEREAS, The public school system is recognized as essential to the welfare of the nation and must be maintained at all costs (Secretary McAdoo, in his letter calling for vol-

untary work on the part of teachers in the Thrift Stamp Campaign, paid a high tribute to the teachers' value, and President Wilson, in his proclamation drafting teachers for extra services on the Draft Exemption Board, expressed his high appreciation of their services to every community); therefore, be it

Resolved, That the vital needs of the public school system of the Capital City require that a teachers' minimum salary be \$1,000 a year, with an increase of \$100 a year until the maximum of \$2,000 be reached.

These salaries would be but a living wage and a partial restoration of the value of the dollar.

"Thank God for Wilson"—U. Sinclair

Five superintendents, to be aided by principals, were designated as a committee to prepare a list of war facts every child should know. Why add only principals to the committee? Are there not some among the 22,000 teachers who could help just a wee bit? But, of course, that would involve a dangerous admission and establish a dangerous precedent.

Six million dollars for the "Know How" of the group building ships on Hog Island (appropriately named) that didn't know how and yet, according to President Somers of the Board of Education, \$12,000,000 is too much to give 22,000 faithful, conscientious, and self-sacrificing teachers a living wage. Verily, teaching, the noblest of professions, is greatly appreciated—verbally.

Teachers are told that they cannot get adequate salary increases because it would necessitate increasing the budget \$12,000,000. What is the matter with our tax experts? Have they never heard of a tax on land, or of unearned increment? Take that and you will have more money than you need and have enough to do justice to other elements in the community.

English Notes

LONDON, ENGLAND—Throughout Ireland the national teachers are on the edge of revolt. In the month of January, the Lord Mayor of Dublin announced his intention of convening an all-Ireland deputation to lay their demands before the chief secretary, Mr Duke. According to the statement of the central executive of the Irish National Teachers

Association, practically every boro and county council in Ireland, and all the school managers' associations, intimated their intention of being represented in that deputation. Men of widely different political and religious views stood on the same platforms at the numerous public meetings which were held thruout the country, and from north, south, east, and west, a united appeal was made to the Government to do justice to the teachers. Not only did ministers refuse "to move one inch" toward conceding the demands of the teachers, but after an interval of six weeks, the chief secretary had not even fixed a date for the reception of the deputation.

This statement of the teachers' executive is borne out by the recent debate in Parliament upon the supplementary estimates for the civil services. The complaint of Mr Boland, the Nationalist member for South Kerry, as to the entire inadequacy of the sums of £384,000 set out as the equivalent for Irish primary education, and £50,000 for Irish intermediate education, received the hearty support of Sir Edward Carson. He had protested, he said, year after year, against the system of equivalent grants for Ireland, as the most illogical and mischievous method conceivable. Nothing was more lamentable than the way in which the question of the teachers had been dealt with for many years past. To bring these people, whose grievances had never been fully met, in daily contact with the youth of Ireland was nothing but a disaster.

The Government yielded to Sir Edward Carson's demand for a committee to consider the question of elementary teachers' salaries, but did not come to any decision as to whether this committee should deal also with secondary teachers, or whether a separate committee should be appointed for that purpose. Meanwhile the teachers' executive has become desperate, and has intimated that an immediate referendum of all the associated teachers is to be taken on the question of a general withdrawal from the schools until such time as their just and reasonable demands are granted.—*The Christian Science Monitor.*

An American Labor Party

SIR: The recent publication of the inspiring program of the British Labor party, dealing with reconstruction plans after the war, has caused much comment among American radicals, and should result in eventual action. Many people feel that, while we are trying to crush German militaristic autocracy,

we might as well make a job of it by crushing American industrial autocracy also. It is of interest to consider how it may be done.

Samuel Gompers, who has performed worthy service for labor, still relies on collective bargaining alone. But such a position to-day savors of Rip Van Winkle. In the first place, only eleven per cent of American labor, as a rule the men most skilled and best off economically, are organized in "regular" trades unions. This fact alone is enough to prove the inadequacy of unionism to meet the situation unaided, while many union men begin to realize that their successes are temporary, increases in prices of necessities soon leaving them no better off than before. Were we Americans not, as Frank Vanderlip says, a nation of economic illiterates, political action would long ago have supplemented trade-unionism.

We have the I W W, with its counsel of desperation, and the Socialists, with their counsel of perfection. The former doctrine gains ground only with the floating, homeless, but red-blooded and resentful pioneers of the West; the Socialists, outside of a few localities, remain a corporal's guard of dreamers. Moreover, their doctrinaire leadership, their failure to supplement their far away Utopia with a tangible, step by step program beginning with the most immediate problems, alienate the vast mass of citizens. Lately, however, there has appeared on the scene a new force, the National Non-Partisan League—the organization of embattled farmers who are out to better their condition, not at the expense of the consumer, but of the middleman, miller and banker, by political action in addition to cooperative buying and selling. This is a most hopeful portent—an indigenous American movement, among a class usually considered conservative and individualistic.

What are the chances of a real American labor party—both in city and country—being organized to carry out some such democratic program as that outlined so inspiringly by our British fellow workers? I think that they are so good as to make the question merely one of time. The apathetic masses are even now beginning to awaken from their apathy, and, as the cost of living continues to increase faster than wages rise, the average wage slave will begin to bestir himself to find a way out. Where will he be able to turn for leadership and a program that promises relief?

The Socialists are becoming more practical, more Fabian, as they elect men to office in various large cities. Also they are gazing

upon the Non-Partisan League with friendly eyes. Their papers closely follow the fortunes of the farmers, and it is reported that some Socialists are going to vote for Non-Partisan League candidates in the Middle West next fall. Moreover, some of the radical unionists are wearying of the reign of Gompers, and their restiveness takes the form of flirting with the Socialists and the farmers. The IWW show that, given half a chance, they are only too glad to be reasonable and civilized, and they, too, are coming more closely in touch with the Socialists and Non-Partisan Leaguers. The *Survey*, the *New Republic*, the *Public*, and other journals, edited by liberal intellectuals, are veering closer to a common point of view, which fore-shadows endorsement of a party of "workers with hand and brain." Is it too much to hope that five years hence a radical coalition will be an accomplished fact, and that the masses, pressed between the upper and nether millstones of high cost of living and low wages, will flock by the thousands and hundreds of thousands to follow the aegis of a real American labor party in the campaign to crush industrial autocracy?

WILMER T STONE

New York City.

—*The New Republic.*

To organize and maintain in parliament, provincial and federal, a political labor party; to cooperate with kindred organizations, in joint political or other action in harmony with the party constitution and standing orders; to give effect as far as may be practicable to the principles from time to time approved by the party conference; to secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof; generally to promote the political, social and economic emancipation of the people, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life.

Several radical amendments to these resolutions were defeated, especially some emphatic socialistic statements. These were opposed because it was determined to include nothing upon which all the groups could not unite; this, of course, with special relation to the influential farmers' organization. The membership rule was as follows:

Membership: That the labor party shall consist of all its affiliated organizations, including trade unions, Socialist societies, trades councils, local labor parties and farmers' organizations, together with those men and women who are individual members of a local labor party and who subscribe to the constitution and program of the party.

This is a fairly comprehensive membership, but it is still narrower than that recently adopted by the British Labor Party, which enables individuals to join without belonging to any Socialist or labor organization outside. A strong committee was appointed, representing the various groups, to draw up a platform.

A social worker in Toronto writes:

The war has taught us many things, and there is now a genuine desire to get together. In addition, many of the trade unions have become utterly disgusted with the old parties for whom so many of them have devoted all their lives. As a result, just previous to our last general election, a number of labor candidates were nominated in various constituencies throughout the Dominion by organizations which in most cases called themselves the Independent Labor Party. The immediate cause of this was the resolution passed by our last Trades and Labor Congress at Ottawa, where the need for such a party was stated in a resolution which received only five

A Political Labor Party In Ontario

A MEETING was called in Toronto a few weeks ago to organize a labor party for Ontario. The significance of this event lies in the unrest in labor circles, in many parts of Canada and for many years, which previously had resulted in the running of occasional Socialist candidates—usually of a somewhat academic type—but had not become crystallized in constructive permanent political organization.

Invitations to the Toronto meeting were sent to representatives of various socialistic societies, including the Fabian society, trades and labor councils, trade unions, independent labor parties—local Socialist bodies, for the most part unstable in membership and of an ephemeral nature—co-operative societies and the United Farmers of Ontario, a body of 15,000 energetic members. In spite of not a little difference of opinion, it was evident that everyone present was determined to secure the formation of a real labor party. The following party objects were adopted:

dissenting votes. The efforts of the party, however, were not very successful at the last election, as the other two parties were practically united in what is called a "union" government. Nevertheless, a

great deal of good propaganda work was accomplished, and a real get-together spirit manifested. The movement has now got up one stage farther.—*The Survey*, May 4, 1918.

Effect of the War On Schools In Germany

IN response to requests for information on present educational conditions in Germany, the Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, has made public the following translations from an article by Dr Paul Hildebrandt in the *Vossische Zeitung*, Berlin, January 23, 1918. After reciting the early enthusiasm of German youth for the war, and their activities in behalf of war measures, the article continues:

The sixth grade pupils of 1914 are now about to be promoted to the upper third. They have become accustomed to the war. Who can wonder then that now in the fourth year of war our children exhibit signs of change? Too many of the restraints have been removed which should shape their development; the loosening of family ties, the father at the front, the mother employed away from home, and in the lower ranks of society doing the work of men; the omission of school discipline. Of the teachers of the Berlin public schools, for instance, two-thirds have gone into the army. The remainder are overworked. Dropping class periods, or combining classes together are the order of the day. In the higher schools half of the teachers are in the army. Furthermore, standards in the higher institutions of learning have gradually been lowered until the final examination has been pushed back fully two classes. All those conditions have influenced our students and have weakened their persistence, since they see that they can attain a scholastic standing without effort that formerly demanded the severest application.

Young people follow the law of their nature. They are guided by the impressions of the moment and they cannot permanently resist them. In addition, as time went on, especially in case of the students of higher institutions, and particularly in the towns, the hardship of inadequate nourishment appeared. It is the unanimous judgment of medical specialists that the children of the middle classes suffered most in this respect. General attention was attracted to the fact that the children were less sensitive to reproof, that

they paid no more attention to threats, because the school authorities had directed that they should be treated with every leniency, and since promotions no longer represented any definite standard of accomplishment. This special consideration for the children was most obvious in the schools of the large cities. Was not harvest work and the country vacation necessary to maintain the health of the coming generation, and was it not necessary for a great many to be set back in their studies so that they required repeated concessions to maintain their rank and thereby continually lower scholastic standards of their classes?

That spirit of voluntary service which at the beginning of the war revealed itself in its fairest aspect has now disappeared. Everywhere we hear lamentations over the increasing distaste shown for military service. Pupils collect articles now for the reward, not from patriotism, and the older pupils have their struggles. Shall they take advantage of the opportunity to leave school with a half-completed education, or shall they avoid placing themselves in a position where they will have to enlist for their country? What an unhappy indecision even for the best of them, those who *really* think about the matter.

Furthermore, in these ranks of society which are less influenced by tradition, discipline, and education, we find increasing violations of the law. At the first this manifested itself merely in an increase of theft. More recently it has taken a decided turn toward personal assaults. It is true, the latter are still negligible in proportion to the total number of juvenile offences, but they are increasing every year. Already the number of violent crimes committed by youths in the city of Berlin is more than three times the number reported in 1914.

Thus, dark shadows are falling over the brilliant picture of 1914. Every disciplinary influence, every effort of the still fundamentally sound German nation must be exerted to oppose this tendency, and to lead the children back to the path of rectitude.

GREYLOCK

DURING the coming summer seventy-five boys will spend two full-breezed months at Camp Greylock, in the Heart of the Berkshires. There, under the direction of Dr. Gabriel R. Mason the youngsters will play in the fields, swim in the lake, hike over the hills, work on the farm, study in the outdoor classrooms, and camp out under the stars. In these ways they will find health, culture, and the joy of living.

Prospectus on Request

Gabriel R. Mason, Ph.D.

Principal, Public Schools, New York City
1107 Forest Ave., New York City

A DIRECT WAY
of contributing to

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

Detach, fill out, and enclose with One Dollar

AMERICAN TEACHER COMPANY
70 Fifth Avenue, New York

For the enclosed One Dollar send THE AMERICAN TEACHER for one year to

Name

Address

Donor

Donor's address

THE LIBERATOR

FOR JUNE 15 CENTS

A New Radical Magazine
Edited by Max Eastman

The Story of The Masses Trial

By Floyd Dell

A full account of the two weeks' trial of Max Eastman, Floyd Dell, Art Young, and Merrill Rogers, of the old *Masses* staff, on a charge of "conspiracy" under the Espionage Act.

Illustrated by Art Young

The Truth About Russia

By John Reed

John Reed has just returned from Petrograd, bringing intimate information about the Bolsheviks, altogether unknown to American readers.

IN THE LIBERATOR FOR JUNE

...Tear off along this line and mail today...

The Liberator,
34 Union Square, New York City.

Enclosed please find \$1.50. Send me THE LIBERATOR for one year, beginning with the June Number.

Name

Address

THE AMERICAN'S CREED

I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people, whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States, a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I, therefore, believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies.

STORY OF THE AMERICAN'S CREED

The idea of laying special emphasis upon the duties and obligations of citizenship in the form of a national creed originated with Henry S. Chapin. In 1916-1917 a contest, open to all Americans, was inaugurated in the press throughout the country to secure "the best summary of the political faith of America." The contest was informally approved by the President of the United States. The artists and authors of the Vigilantes, especially, and representatives of other patriotic societies supported it; the city of Baltimore, as the birthplace of the Star-Spangled Banner, offered a prize of \$1,000, which was accepted, and the following committees were appointed: A committee on manuscripts, consisting of Porter Emerson Browne and representatives from leading American magazines, with headquarters in New York City; a committee on award, consisting of Matthew Page Andrews, Irvin S. Cobb, Hamlin Garland, Ellen Glasgow, Julian Street, Booth Tarkington and Charles Hanson Towne; and an advisory committee, consisting of Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, Governors of States, United States Senators and other National and State officials.

The winner of the contest and the author of the Creed selected proved to be William Tyler Page, of Friendship Heights, Maryland, a descendant of President Tyler and also of Carter Braxton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The Creed prepared by Mr. Page was recognized by all as not only brief and simple and in every way suitable for educational purposes, but also remarkably comprehensive of *that which is basic in American ideals, history and tradition, as expressed by the founders of the Republic and its leading statesmen and writers.* On April 3, 1918, in the presence of members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, THE AMERICAN'S CREED was formally accepted in the name of the United States Government by the Speaker of the House, and it was there read in public for the first time by the United States Commissioner of Education, who has officially commended it as "a Creed worthy to be learned and accepted as a guide to action by all Americans."

Authorised or official version.